

Resolutions on Matters of General Public Interest.**PRESIDENT.**

The next item is the resolution standing in the name of Mr. Mathew.

Communal Representation.**Mr. K. T. MATHEW.**

Sir, I move the following resolution standing against my name :—*"That this Council recommends to the Government to take into Government service members of the communities which are not adequately represented and to issue orders to the Heads of all Departments that in making future appointments the different communities in the State should be represented, as far as possible, in proportion to their numerical strength, without impairing the efficiency of the administration."*

At the outset, let me state that it is with much hesitation and reluctance that I submit the resolution to the deliberation of this House. Hesitation and reluctance are due to my apprehension whether I should be held guilty of throwing the apple of discord and communal disharmony here. I may assure the House that I was not prompted by any communal feeling or jealousy in tabling this motion. Neither have I the intention now to plead for my community, although I am returned here from a constituency inhabited predominantly by Christians. The resolution was tabled with the object of drawing the attention of the Government to the fact, a real and undeniable fact, that the policy which has been followed by the Government in recruiting candidates to Government service has created great discontent in the State. It is only the deep loyalty of the people to our Gracious Highness that has prevented undesirable consequences. Not only one community, perhaps all the communities in the State, look with great dissatisfaction upon the policy of recruitment followed by the Government. It is with a view to expose all this that I have tabled the motion. The motion asks that the communities which are not well and satisfactorily represented in Government service should be given better opportunities in the future but without impairing the efficiency of the administration. This will be realised when the Government follows a well defined and satisfactory course of recruitment.

The best form of Government is defined as the Government of the people, for the people, by the people. The third is the most important and at the same time the most difficult to achieve. At the present let us leave out of consideration the first qualification also and concentrate a little upon the second, namely,

"for the people". This is not very difficult of achievement. An autocrat may govern "for the people" in the best interests of the people. A benevolent despot generally fulfils this condition. All Governments exist for the good of the people, and if any Government fails to work in this direction, its existence becomes short. World History teaches us this, and in modern times we have heard of many countries in which people have risen in revolt against the rulers and driven them from the country. This happens when the rulers forget that they are ruling "for the people". It is, therefore, very important for rulers to understand whether there is dissatisfaction and discontent among the people. There is no use of saying that there is "no reasonable discontent", as our Government puts it, when discontent actually prevails.

It is really a pleasure to me to say that our Gracious Highness has well understood the significance of the maxim above cited. Our Maharaja says at the inauguration of this Council that His Highness desires to see the promotion of the happiness and prosperity of all classes of His Highness' beloved subjects. These words are pregnant with meaning. It is the duty of us all and also of the Government to work for the well-being of all classes of people. The policy adopted by the Government in recruiting men to Government service cannot be said to be one above criticism (*Hear, hear.*) The policy is devoid of rhyme or reason. The policy is rightly criticised in these words by one of the papers published from our State.

"ഉദ്യോഗ കാര്യാലയം നീതിന്യായം സാമാന്യത്തിലധികം വരുമാനം നേടുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ഇടയിൽ ധാരാളമുണ്ട്. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഉദ്യോഗ നിയമത്തിന് കയറും കൊടുക്കുന്നതിന് യാതൊരു നിഷേധത്തെയും തോതും വ്യവസ്ഥയും ഇല്ലെന്ന് കുറെ കാലത്തിനിപ്പുറം പല സംഗതികളിലും കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. "സേവ ശിവാശി—അധികം പ്രതിഫലമുണ്ടാണെന്നു". Regarding the selection of candidates for Vellore Police training, the paper says "ഈ മാതിരി അനീതി നമുക്കു ഇപ്പോഴും കാണുകൊള്ളാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ വേദം ഭേദഗതിയുണ്ടെന്നു ചൊല്ലുകയുണ്ടാണെന്നു".

The present policy of the Government deserves to be criticised in stronger and more effective words. The pregnant words of our Maharaja are entirely lost sight of. The well-being of all classes of people is entirely forgotten. Favouritism reigns supreme. It is an open secret from where the pull of favouritism comes. Every one in the State knows it. It is not, therefore, necessary for me to say whether it comes from the heavens, or from the ocean beyond or from the hills.

Sir, I admit my experience of Cochin administration is not long enough as to justify my entering into the past policy of the Government. It was, therefore, with a desire to study the past history in juxtaposition to the present one that I put some questions regarding the employees in the various departments in the State. The answers have convinced me that the Government policy cannot be rightly defended. I doubt whether the policy of setting one caste against the other is entirely a foreign thing to our Government. At the budget session, questions had been put similar to the questions which I put later. I may draw the attention of this House to the headings given to questions put in the budget session. The headings given then were satisfactory ones. When similar questions increased in number, and the Government understood that the figures which they give will be used for criticising the Government policy, a suitable attempt was made to set one caste against the other. It was very shrewdly done. The heading was suddenly changed, and a new word, not a very happy one, began to be used. The heading then became "caste-war statement". A very happy expression to be used by our Government! How much the Government might try to set one caste against the other, we, the representatives of the people who have come here, will stand shoulder to shoulder in attacking the bureaucratic ways of the Government (*Hear, hear*).

The Government exists for the good of all classes of people and not for a few individual favourites or a family or a class or a religion. In giving appointments it should be the policy of the Government to select the best possible candidates available in the State, giving reasonable encouragement to those classes which have not been receiving sufficient encouragement in the past. I am not one who will say that efficiency should be sacrificed for the sake of satisfying one class of people or another. Efficiency must be the watchword of the Government, and it is therefore that I included, in the resolution submitted, the clause "without impairing the efficiency of the administration". I know that, by providing this saving clause, I am providing a loophole to the Government to escape from the clutches of this House and of public criticism, when the Government errs on the side of favouritism in future. However, I feel strongly that it should be provided; for it is not my desire to put difficulties in the way of the Government and make administration difficult or to impair the efficiency of the administration. By saying so, I should not be understood to hold the view that the present administration has reached an ideal or a satisfactory state of effi-

ciency. It is far from it. The criticism raised against the Government from the different corners of this House proves that the administration has not reached a satisfactory standard of efficiency. Again, the numerous defalcations of which we have been hearing of late prove the above observation. Whatever efficiency there exists, let it not be impaired. This is what I mean.

The resolution provides another saving clause also. It says "as far as possible". This also gives the Government another loophole. This is provided, so that the resolution might be acceptable to the Government. Any resolution passed in this Council, after long discussion and serious deliberation, has only the weight of a recommendation. It is left to the Government to accept it or not. It will, therefore, only be wasting our time, if we pass a resolution which the Government is not prepared to translate into action. I admit that a resolution passed by this House, although not accepted by the Government, has its own effect on the public. But let us try, as far as possible, to work in co-operation with the Government, not unmindful of their difficulties and troubles. It is, therefore, with the desire that the resolution, if passed by this House, should be acceptable to the Government that I introduced the words "as far as possible" in the resolution. I trust that the Government will not unnecessarily take advantage of these saving clauses.

Another matter I desire to bring to the attention of the Government: The Government should think twice before importing non-Cochinites into our service. Such importation should be resorted to only under extra-ordinary circumstances. The Government should make an honest attempt to see whether there are capable hands available in our State. The present policy of filling up vacancies and of recruiting men to new posts does not enable the Government to see whether there are capable Cochinites available. Advertisement is an absolute necessity, and there should be a Board of Selection. The non-official members of this Council should be given representation on this Board. The Heads of Departments or the Diwan should not be the sole authority. The power entrusted to them till now they have not utilised to the satisfaction of the people in general. This was due to their own direct fault or due to some extraneous circumstances over which they had no control. The country knows this well, and so I do not venture to dilate upon it.

In the course of putting supplementary questions, I brought to the attention of the Government that educated men exist not only in important towns in the State but also in the villages, and that the Government should not handicap these young men in entering Government service. The secrets of vacancies must not be murmured in the ears only of the favourites of the Government. Vacancies should be widely advertised, and from the applications received the best candidates must be selected. This has not been the policy of the Government, and it has led to much disappointment and discontent among the people living in the villages. I, therefore, urge that equal opportunities should be given to those who live in villages, and that Government appointments should not be held to be the monopoly of a few favourites or of a few families.

The selection made by the Government for Vellore training has completely expressed the policy followed by the Government in giving appointments. No applications were invited. Neither were applications received from the candidates now selected by the Government. Further, the Government stated, in the confusion created by a volley of supplementary questions showered upon the official members, that verbal applications have the importance and value of written applications—a new procedure invented by our Government, specially for our Government, to suit its own purposes! Further, in answer to some other questions put, the Government said that, although there are six graduates in the Police Department, none of them was efficient enough to be sent up for Vellore training. I ask the Government whether the test applied to the men in the service was applied to those who were selected. The selection more or less happened like this. One fine morning, when our Diwan woke up, he saw one or two young men waiting to see him, and as soon as he saw them, he fixed upon them as the best candidates available in the State for sending to Vellore. The Head of the Department, although he is specially brought here to reform our Police Department, was not consulted in the selection of candidates. Perhaps, this is the way of reforming our Police Department, and if it is so, there was no necessity for bringing an official from British service. However, what passes my comprehension regarding the selection of men to Government appointments is that, before the Government passes orders as to who are selected, we see the names of candidates to be selected published in the papers or talked about by the people.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

What papers?

Mr. K. T. MATHEW.

In the *Lokaprakasan*.

What is the reason for this? I should think that there is a weightier element, than the nominal selection itself, in existence. It is because of all this I should say that some communities fared ill. It is with a view to overcome all this difficulty that I have submitted my resolution, but I do not think that, even if the resolution is passed and accepted by the Government, an ideal condition will come to exist.

It is superfluous to prove to this House that adequate representation has not been given, even as far as possible, to the different communities in the State in Government service. Answers given to the questions put by the members of this House prove this fact.

	Population	Employees in the Public Works Department drawing Rs. 50 and above	No. of Head Constables 63	Excise Department above Rs. 20. 50.	Land Revenue above Rs. 15. 218.	Parvatiakarans and Menons 357	Agricultural Department above Rs. 20. 41.
1. Caste-Hindus	1,81,150	54	41	36	197	307	29
2. Tiyyas	2,24,008	2	4	3	9	15	nil
3. Christians	2,62,595	27	11	8	10	23	6
4. Other Hindus	2,40,974	5	4	nil	1	9	5
5. Mussalmans	68,717	nil	3	3	1	3	1
6. Jews	1,157	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

Sir, I rise to second this resolution. It is not, Sir, that we have not had excellent principles initiated for the guidance of appointments in the service that we are suffering now, but, Sir, it is because these principles and rules that have been laid down have not been adhered to by the bureaucracy in the past (*Hear*,

hear). I will first of all say that the Government of Cochin has laid down excellent rules for the guidance of appointments. Under the rules in the Standing Orders, all classes are eligible.

"His Highness' Government do not regard any caste or creed as a ground of civil disability. All classes and castes are alike eligible to hold offices under the Sirkar, provided they have the necessary educational and other qualifications.

"*Exception* :— 1. Appointments of officers in direct charge of the Hindu Religious Institutions under Sirkar management can be held only by caste-Hindus.

"*Exception* 2 Appointments in the Nayar Brigade are exclusively reserved to members of the Nayar community.

Str "*Appointment of Relatives*.— No Head of a Department or official, in exercise of the power vested in him, appoint any relative of his in any office under his control, without the special sanction of the Diwan, nor shall the Diwan appoint any relative of his in the State without the special sanction of His Highness. In regard to all appointments recommended by Heads of Departments to the Diwan, the recommending officers shall say so clearly, if any of the men recommended happen to be their relatives, and the Diwan shall do the same in regard to all appointments recommended by him to His Highness".

There are only 2 exceptions to these rules that are provided for by the Government. That is in regard to the appointments in Hindu Religious Institutions under Sirkar management and with reference to the Nayar Brigade which are entirely caste-Hindu appointments. Then, Sir, there is an excellent rule. Rule 12 in the same second chapter of the Standing Orders.

These rules have been framed for the purpose of generating satisfaction all round so that no favourites may be appointed in the State, but, Sir, what has been the result in spite of the rules we have? The greatest number of appointments have gone to caste-Hindus, and all the others put together do not come to a third of them. You see, Sir, from the figures quoted by the Hon'ble Member for Kunnamkulam that the majority of the appointments are held by the caste-Hindus. There are altogether 700 appointments of Government. Non-caste Hindus and all the others put together have not even 200 appointments between them. That shows the way in which the appointments are distributed among the various castes in the State. So I ask the Hon'ble Members on the other side and the President not to recruit any more caste-Hindus. If you had a certain number of

appointments given to these non-caste communities, then Government would have been perfectly in order. This resolution we take as an eye-opener of the session, so that, at least in years to come after the Legislative Council has been started, there would be satisfaction generated in the matter of the distribution of the loaves and fishes at the disposal of the Government. Sir, that is the object of this resolution. The inveterate and the irresponsible method that has been pursued have brought us to this pass, and therefore, Sir, we hope, although no responsibility directly attaches itself on the Heads of Departments to this House, nevertheless the advice we give the Government, I hope, would be adopted in the spirit in which it is given. We are aware that none of the Government Officers feel that they are responsible to the House, and that is a fact also. They are not legally responsible to this House to-day, and in course of time we shall fail in our endeavours to make them care more and more for and to make them feel their responsibilities. Therefore, in the matter of the distribution of the loaves and fishes in the future all classes of the people should be equally represented in proportion to their numbers and education. Speaking for the Jews themselves, we have not made any grievances, because none of us hold an appointment in any department of the State, and we have had at least half a dozen graduates, and it is a pity that our community was driven out through certain causes—whatever they might be, I would not say. For the Government gave us no encouragement.

PRESIDENT.

Then, do you say that they were driven out?

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

Our educated young men were induced to go away from Cochin elsewhere to seek bread.

PRESIDENT.

They are better off for that.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

They might be materially well off. We had a young Medical graduate who applied for an appointment, and he was not given any.

Sir, there is another resolution which stands in my name; otherwise I would have said a word or two about the selection of the candidates at least to higher Police work. Now, Sir, with these words—and we do not wish to express any hard-words—we hope for a better future; we do hope that the Officers of the Government will not recruit caste-Hindus, and would take this

good spirit, and make the first endeavour to bring up others in the departments. It is more or less clearly and expressly stated in every part of the country that, wherever a caste-Hindu is placed as the Head of a Department, he tries to bring in caste-Hindus. Whether it is right or wrong I do not say.

Dr. A. R. MENON.

Whenever a Christian is appointed as the Head of a Department, he tries to bring in Christians. You never got the opportunity, I say.

B. SALEM.

Certainly, we are to be charged. If you have given me an opportunity, I should have shown otherwise. And so, Sir, we hope that this resolution would be well accepted by the Government, and we hope the Heads of Departments will act according to the Standing Orders and advise you. You must look to the force of these arguments firstly, and see that these grievances are redressed.

PRESIDENT.

You are referring to me not as President but as Diwan. I am only here as the President.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

If so, pray, advise the Diwan of Cochin about these, so that the grievances may be redressed.

Dr. A. R. MENON.

This question of appointment is one which has done immense mischief in the State, and is calculated to produce much irritation in this House, unless some sound principles were adopted and observed scrupulously by the Government. It is because of the belief, generally prevalent among the public, that the Government is not guided by any high and sound principle in this matter, that this House is called upon to discuss their action in this question of appointments. You will notice in the agenda three resolutions about this vexed question, worded differently, but with the same object in view, namely, the unsatisfactory conditions of recruitment to public services. There is a belief among the public that the members of the Government have unnecessarily created posts to provide places in the public service for their sons and relations, and that they were not guided by a spirit of impartiality in the matter of the promotion of those already in the service. I am bound to admit that these allegations are substantially true.

Such being the case, it is only proper to go into this^{tern} friendly spirit^{we} and meet the arguments of the move^{to} to oppose to this resolution, because it is a^{old} the^{the} fact^{the} opinion, of all sound principles of Government^{is} irreconcilable servants^{should} be recruited on a communal basisⁱⁿ perspective^{of} considerations. In a State, inhabited by people belonging to different sects and following various religions, it will be impracticable to carry out the recommendations contained in the resolution. Further, it is a bad policy, for it will perpetuate the sectarian differences for all time^{awa}. It is not saying that one community should be treated^{on} favouritism. The Government^{should} be guided by general principles accepted by all civilized countries. Principles are much more important than considerations of or creed. What those principles are, I shall enumerate and proceed. If it can be proved—and the mover has not done so—that the Government have meted out preferential treatment to one community at the expense of the others in this matter, then the Government deserve the severest condemnation of the House. What is the position? The mover calculated the percentage of appointment on the basis of population. He further divided the Hindu community into caste-Hindu and non-caste-Hindu sections. I strongly object to these sub-divisions, because the two are one and the same. The object is clear. It is to show the preponderance of caste-Hindus in the public service. If this principle is accepted, then among Christians there are various divisions, such as Roman Catholics, Syrians, Chaldeans, Jacobites, Protestants, Methodists, etc., and I can assure the House there is as much difference amongst these as amongst the various sects who follow Hinduism. Such being the case, you will have to appoint 25 or 30 Judges, if the Chief Court is to represent all these various sects, and that is asking Government to perform an impossible feat. The principle embodied in the resolution is not only impracticable, but also unsound in theory.

Now, suppose you base your percentage on the amount of revenue paid to the State by each community. You will find the major portion of the revenue is paid by the Hindu community; hence this community is entitled to a large share of the public service, for, after all, he who pays the piper calls for the tune. But this piece of argument is not admitted as a sound one; the object is only to show how difficult and impracticable all such arguments are in the solution of this problem. The

general principle to be followed is this:—All communities should be represented in the public service as far as possible without impairing the efficiency of the administration. Character, education, ability, industry and sense of duty should be the requirements for public service.

Let me give you an example. In the Presidency of Madras, the Brahmins form about 4 per cent of the population. Until lately, almost all the higher and a major portion of the lower appointments were held by them. Is it the contention that the British Government favoured the Brahmins, because they are Brahmins? Certainly not. The Government found out that they were very intelligent, hard-working, able, and persevering—qualities essential in a public servant.

What is the veiled suggestion the mover endeavoured to convey to our mind by his speech? This being a Hindu Government, the Hindus are unduly favoured by them. Now, examine for a moment, if there is any truth in this suggestion. Let us go by comparison. Take the case of two States—Cashmere and Hyderabad. These two States have the same sectarian problem as we have, with this difference, that, while theirs is a Hindu-Muslim one, ours is a Hindu-Christian one. Now, Hyderabad has a large Hindu majority and a small Muhammadan minority. The ruler of this State is a Muhammadan. In spite of the preponderating majority of Hindus, in spite of their education, culture and ability almost all the higher appointments are in the hands of the Muhammadan community. Take the other State, Cashmere. Here, there is a preponderating majority of Muhammadans and a minority of Hindus. The ruler is a Hindu, and an undue proportion of the appointments are in the hands of the Hindus. Thus, you will see in these two States, the majority of the appointments are being held by the community to which the Ruler belongs, irrespective of all other considerations. Now, I put this question to the House. Can you honestly say, can you conscientiously affirm that this Government, in the light of the above statements I have just made, have been guilty of undue partiality and favouritism to the community to which the Ruler belongs? I don't think for a moment that any one in his senses can affirm that such is the case.

Appoint whomsoever you like, let your choice fall upon efficient and able men. I think I have answered the Hon'ble mover, so far as the communal aspect of the question is concerned. But, Sir, when I come to the method of selecting individuals, I am constrained to support the mover in his condemnation of the Government.

PRESIDENT.

It is almost 2 p. m.

Dr. A. R. MENON.

Sir, I will take only a minute. There are certain rules laid down for the purpose of recruitment to public services.

What is the first rule? That men, when they reach a certain age, are unfit to carry on their work as public servants due to physical infirmity. That age is considered to be 55. I can understand quite well an extension of time given to one who has devoted all his official life to the services of the State, provided such extension is considered to be to the best interests of the State.

But what can we say, if a Government, who are always ready to welcome the services of men who have already been discarded by that Government which they served all their life, as the result of old age and mental and physical infirmity associated with it?

The second principle is that the interest of those already in the service must not be sacrificed, when a question of promotion arises. Let me quote an example or two to impress upon this House how the Government have violated this principle. Lately, they selected 2 candidates for training at Vellore prior to their appointments as Circle Inspectors. The Police Commissioner recommended two Sub-Inspectors to the Government. The recommendation was ignored. The natural rights of the officers already in the service were treated with contempt, and two outsiders who have no claim whatever were selected.

Again, take another case. Lately, they created an X-ray Department, and they appointed the son of the Chief Medical Officer to the post. So far as one can see, he has no other additional qualifications than some already in the service except that he happens to be the son of his father. Never in the history of this State has there been a grosser case of jobbery than this—a post purposely created to provide a comfortable job for the son of the Head of a Department, and what is more, that son is incompetent to carry on the work for which he is appointed.

Actions like these lower the dignity and prestige of the Government, create discontent among public servants, and in the long run, produce a feeling of uneasiness in the public mind that the motives of the Government in this matter are not above suspicion.

I would request the Government to observe fully their own regulations so that we may not have the unpleasantness of discussing this unsavoury and disgusting subject in the Council in future.

Sir, I thank you again for allowing me more time.

It being 2—5 p. m. the Council adjourned for lunch. When the House re-assembled at 3 p. m., the discussion on Mr. Mathew's resolution was resumed.

Mr. C. A. KUNJUNNI RAJA.

Sir, I oppose the resolution. The only justification which I can think of for moving this resolution is the impression which is abroad that the cancer of communal hatred and jealousy has crept into the system of official life. To see how far this impression is justified by facts and figures, I had sent up a few questions as early as Edavam last, which, if the Government had chosen to answer by this time, would have exposed the true situation and removed all misconceptions on the matter. My own conception, as at present advised, is that the belief is not entirely baseless, though one can be sure, if strong remedial measures are applied at once, the body politic could be saved from this communal canker.

Let us see how far communal representation in service in proportion to the numerical strength of a community will be a solution for this evil. First of all, what is meant by "communities"? Is the population to be divided into communities on the basis of religion? Religion is understood on all hands to be a matter of conviction, and is the embodiment of the spiritual side of man, and should not be made the basis for quarrels for the loaves and fishes of office. Assuming for a moment that religion could be made the basis, what is there in common in the religious beliefs of the various denominations of 6,46,132 Hindus? Is the religion of the Pulaya the same as that of the Brahmin? "The structure of the Hindu community consists of a closely related series of social strata rising by infinitesimal gradations from the Cheramans and the Parayans at the base to the hierarchy of the Brahmins at the top, and from the Hinduism of the Paraya to the Hinduism of the Brahmins there is an advance, step by step, from the most ignorant and degrading cults to the purest and loftiest heights of philosophic speculation." Are not the 68,717 Mussalamans divided on the basis of religion into Shiah and Sunnies? Are not the 2,62,595 Christians divided into Roman Catholics, Catholics, Syrians, Romo-Syrians, Protestants, etc? Are the Jains with their classification of Digambaras and Svetambaras, the Jews with their classi-

fication into the Black and the White Jews and the Animists, who number 101, 1,167 and 368 respectively, to get nothing, for they are less than 10 per cent of the total population?

Are we then to divide the people into communities on the basis of caste, tribe or race? According to the Census of 1921, the Hindus are divided into 38 sub-divisions, the Christians into three, the Mussalamans into three and the Jews into two.

Is communalism to be based on plutocracy? Or, after all, is it to be based on the various tenures of real property such as *Jennu*, *Kanam*, *Verumpattam*, etc.

If this communalism is stretched further, should not the total amount also drawn by officers of each community be in proportion to their numerical strength?

Is the acceptance of this principle conducive to the general welfare and progress of our people as a nation? Will not this be an element of discord rather than of union? How this resolution is a remedy for the evil of communalism, I fail to comprehend. On the other hand, the acceptance of it will perpetuate communalism for ever.

I would request the Government that, if the official act of any officer is found to be based on communal considerations, exemplary punishments should be awarded to avoid such occurrence in future.

My idea is the best sons of the soil should be recruited to the service of the State without distinction of caste or creed. There are, no doubt, certain ugly features in the selection of candidates which ought to be avoided. I would urge the appointment of a Staff Selection Board, composed of the best men of the State, to prepare a list of candidates for all appointments from which list those in power are to select. The Board should be asked to state the preferential reasons in writing in each case.

Mr. T. A. RAMACHANDRA AYYAR.

With very great reluctance, I have to oppose the motion. The aim of the administration cannot be to have a menagerie where an equal number of officers from different communities is recruited and exhibited. It will almost be impossible to have equality with communal representation, if efficiency is not to be sacrificed. We are not to consider the total population of a particular community, and the percentage of appointments in proportion thereto. But we should intelligently take into consideration the percentage of literary men in a particular community—not to speak of efficiency—and then compare it with the

percentage of appointments now held by each community. If such a comparison is made, I am sure the caste-Hindus will have much to grumble, they being not on the vantage position. Merit should always be the criterion for appointments in the State service, as was recently observed by Mr. E. Watts, the Diwan of Travancore in his speech at Alwaye. Certainly, the laws, written or unwritten, disqualifying any competent subject from occupying any office on account of the unfortunate accident of birth, should be repealed forthwith. But communal feeling of an undesirable nature should not be imported into our State, which, I am afraid, the resolution under reference is capable of. We know to our bitter experience the dangers brewing in Madras owing to the communal fight which is nowhere wanted in Cochin at present. It deserves to be stamped out. I would, therefore, request this House and the members of the backward communities through their representatives here to give them sufficient education before making the hue and cry for preferential treatment in the matter of official loaves and fishes, which, if they do, they will not have the need for bringing forward such a resolution.

SRIMATIT. MADHAVI AMMA.

Sir, I stand to oppose this resolution, not because that I am strictly against it, but because the rules of this House do not permit me to support it conditionally.

The necessary qualifications required for a Government servant, I understand, are neither communal qualifications nor numerical strength of the community to which he belongs, but sufficient knowledge in the profession he will have to undertake ability, honesty of purpose, and alertness in discharging his duties.

But, by the force of the arguments raised by the mover and seconder of this resolution, if the Government is convinced, and if they are prepared to take a sympathetic view on this matter, I stand now to remind you, Sir, a fact, that our community—the female community is left in the lurch but by one department of the State—thanks to the Member for Education—and there even they are not adequately represented. Therefore, Sir, I advocate the cause of the said community in all pleading terms, and request the Government most humbly to consider their case first whenever a vacancy occurs in any department, until the number reaches the limit of adequate representation to their numerical strength.

As for efficiency, Sir, if a person belonging to my community had been occupying the Presidential Chair of this House to-day, I am sure, none of the 12 questions I had sent this time would have been left unanswered.

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH.

May I know whether the Government has to say anything regarding this matter? Does the Government want to make any distinction based on caste creed or colour?

PRESIDENT.

That is clearly laid down in the Standing Orders. Is it not so, Mr. Salem?

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

The Government position is clearly laid down in the Standing Orders.

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH.

Sir, I rise to support the resolution. There is an amendment to this resolution standing in my name, which aims at widening further the scope of the resolution. With my amendment the resolution reads thus:—

"That this Council recommends to the Government to take into Government service members of the communities which are not adequately represented and to issue orders to the Heads of all Departments that, in making future appointments, preference may always be given to candidates or applicants with sufficient qualifications belonging to communities which are not represented in the State service in proportion to their numerical strength".

In deference to the wishes of some of my friends, I abstain from moving the amendment, though I think the amendment is most reasonable.

I shall now deal with the resolution. Sir, the principle that all classes of people and persons belonging to all communities should be given a fair chance of getting into the Government service, to serve loyally and dutifully His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, and get the pay that is allotted to them has long been accepted. But, in practice, every day we find a practical violation of the same. It was with the advent of Sir P. Rajagopalachari, appointed by His Highness the Ex-Raja as his Diwan, that the unrepresented classes in the the State service—I may specify them as Christians, Muhammadans and the non-caste Hindus—began to be taken into the Government service. After that there have been some changes for the better in the methods of recruitment but never such

changes as were prayed for by the people. Since the 90's set in, there has been a change for the worse, and we see that the number of appointments held by these communities at present does not stand any comparison with their educational advancement. Sir, I need not dwell upon the political and economic importance of this question for the communities concerned. I need not make it plain why these communities *clamour*, as it is said, for appointments. Money is valued by every one, and if you would go through the figures I have got ready, you will find that a lot of money is distributed every year practically among a few communities in the State. These are the figures. There are approximately 6,760 appointments in the State. Their salary and leave allowance come together to Rs. 21,17,817. My figures are only approximate, and they may be wrong by a few rupees. But the mistakes will not be serious enough to affect my arguments. I have not included the Devaswam Department in my calculations. Including T. A. charges and pension, the figure runs up to Rs. 23,95,542. And the Devaswam expenses under these heads totals Rs. 67,796. Sir, we see thus that about 25 lakhs of rupees is distributed every year among some communities in the State. There is no community which would think that they are not qualified to seek employment. It does not also stand to reason to think that they will not seek employment in the State service. But what do we actually find in regard to appointments? For that also I have got some figures which I shall place before the House. Here are the figures. The Civil List supplies statistics only in regard to appointments of Rs. 50 and above. There are 234 Brahmins including Heads of Departments getting a monthly salary of Rs. 23,028. The Nayars come in for 189 appointments, carrying a salary of Rs. 19,367, and other non-Brahmin caste-Hindus for 57 appointments of Rs. 6,343. The Christians come in for 101 appointments with a salary of Rs. 13,660, the Tiyyas for 12 appointments of 1,046 rupees and the non-caste Hindus other than Tiyyas for one appointment of Rs. 50 and the Muhammadans for 3 carrying Rs. 605.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

And the Jews?

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH.

Absolutely no appointment for the Jews.

Class	Number of appointments of over Rs. 50	Total monthly salary Rs.	Annual salary Rs.
BRAHMINS ..	234	23,028	2,76,336
NON-BRAHMIN CASTE-HINDUS.—			
1. Nayers ..	189	19,367	2,32,404
2. Others ...	57	6,343	76,116
Christians ..	101	13,660	1,63,920
NON-CASTE-HINDUS.—			
1. Tiyyas ..	12	1,046	12,550
2. Others ...	1	50	600
MUH/ MMADANS ..	3	605	7,260

Sir, these figures speak for themselves. Neither my eloquence— and I have very little of that—nor the eloquence of any other Hon'ble Member of this House can add anything to the silent appeal of the figures that are presented to this House. Sir P. Rajagopalachari came into this State in the 70's. Nearly 30 years have passed, and what do we find? There is absolutely no comparison between the number of appointments held by the Brahmins and the Caste-Hindus and the number of appointments held by the Christians, Tiyyas, and others.

PRESIDENT.

Sir P. Rajagopalachari came to the State in the year 1072.

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH.

Sir, our complaint is that, though a progressive policy was once laid down, it has not been followed. I don't say, if the Government laid open the doors of appointments to all citizens of the State alike, the Christians and others will rush in. There may not be a great many Christians to come in, because those who are educated are getting on very well in other fields or have gone to other places in search of employment. But on principle it seems to me that it is an unfair treatment that is now meted out to these communities. It should not be allowed to be pursued any longer. It is all very well to argue that efficiency must be maintained, and at the cost of efficiency no appointment should be made, based on the principle of communal representation. None in this House my—Christian friends and my Tiyya friends would support me here—would demand that, at the cost of efficiency, different communities should be given representation in appointments. That is not our desire. That is not what we plead for. But, Sir, upon what is efficiency based? Certainly, upon examinations, as we do now, Classifying the men in service according to examinations passed by them we find this. There is one M.L. in the State service, three M.A., B. L.s, 32 B.A., B.L.s,

23 M. A., L. T.s., 18 M. A. s. 66 B. A.L. T.s., 147 B. A.s, 87 Matrics or S. S. L. C s., 30 F. A. s or Intermediates and 10 Middle Schools. In the Agricultural and some other Departments there are men possessed of technical qualifications, but their number is few, and for the purpose of this resolution we need not take them into consideration. As regards the B. A. s. and B. L.s, the community to which I belong can count among them at least as many of them as there are persons of such qualifications in the service on the whole.

The question of efficiency does not, therefore, create any difficulty. It is because there are, in the inadequately represented communities, persons possessed of the necessary qualifications laid down by the Government that we now demand that the doors of appointments should be laid open, and that those qualified men from these communities who are willing to serve should not be kept out, when appointments are made. For an instance of this keeping out, I may refer to an answer given by the Diwan Peishkar regarding the appointments of Rs. 20 and above made in his department during the last 13 years. 23 Brahmins, 37 Non-Brahmins, 3 Christians and 5 non-caste Hindus were appointed during the period. I leave it to the House to judge whether the Diwan Peishkar had laid open his appointments to all classes of people alike. If that had been done, such large difference as we find existing in his department in the number of appointments held by the different communities would not have come to exist. It should be remembered that figures given above have reference to the appointments made in that department during the last 13 years. Sir P. Rajagopalachari came in 1972, and the policy that appointments should be thrown open to all classes of people was definitely laid down when he was Diwan. What I would, therefore, urge upon the Government is that the door of appointments is not sufficiently opened. It was ajar for some time. It is now practically closed. I don't say that every community should be given representation in every Government department. But such representation may be given at least in some. All communities are entitled to serve the Government. Let the represented or inadequately represented communities also enjoy a portion of the money now distributed among a few better placed communities in the State. This meagre or lack of representation of some communities is met with, not only in the Revenue Department but in most of the other departments also. Here are the figures regarding the several departments. I am sorry it is a long and tedious story.

Department	Brahmins		Non-Brahmin caste-Hindus				Christians		Non-caste Hindus				Muhammadans	
	Monthly salary in		(a) Nayars		(b) Others		Salary		(a) Tiyyas		(b) Others		Salary	
	No.	Rs.	No.	Salary Rs.	No.	Salary Rs.	No.	Rs.	No.	Salary Rs.	No.	Salary Rs.	No.	Salary Rs.
1. General Administration.	...	..	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..	...
(a) Sarvadhikariakar's Office	3	261	1	85	1	400	...	...	...	...	..	...	..	...
(b) Huzur	9	665	13	1,475	2	100	...	...	...	...	..	...	..	...
(c) Legislative Council	...	25	2	190	...	...	3	180	...	...	..	...	..	...
2. Accounts and Finance...	5	550	5	325	4	740	1	25	...	...	..	...	..	...
3. Land Revenue	9	1,380	19	1,690	2	250	2	48	...	...	..	...	..	...
4. Agriculture and Pan-chayats	6	507	10	930	1	130	2	210	...	...	..	...	..	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	133	...	...	..	...	..	...
This is a department that was only recently opened, and there was ample opportunity for selection from all classes and communities.														
5. Co-operative	2	300	...	..	1	50	1	47	...	...	..	...	..	...
6. Excise	7	485	2	205	1	50	2	850	1	80	..	...	..	...
The Head of the Department who was a Christian drawing Rs. 750 has retired, and a Brahmin has succeeded him.														
7. Stamps	1	50	1	60	...	...	2	230	...	...	..	...	..	...
8. Press	...	...	1	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..	...
9. Forests	5	331	6	1,370	...	...	2	194	...	...	..	...	..	...
10. Tramway	1	100	1	50	1	60	1	400	...	...	..	...	..	...
11. Anchal	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	250	...	...	..	...	..	...
12. Law Officers	2	250	2	500	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..	...
In this department a Brahmin Sirkar Vakil has been replaced by a Nayar.														

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

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Department	Brahmins		Non-Brahmin caste-Hindus				Christians		Non-caste Hindus				Muhammadans	
	No.	Monthly salary in Rs.	(a) Nayers		(b) Others		No.	Salary Rs.	(a) Tiyyas		(b) Others		No.	Salary Rs.
			No.	Salary Rs.	No.	Salary Rs.			No.	Salary Rs.	No.	Salary Rs.		
13. Civil Justice	...	...	14	2,143	12	2,730	1	50	...	...	...	...	...	...
14. Criminal	...	...	1	300	2	300	1	50	...	...	...	...	...	...
15. Registration	...	...	9	620	7	500	4	310	...	...	...	...	...	...
16. Jail	...	...	1	85	2	105	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17. Police	...	...	4	320	6	300	4	289	...	...	...	...	2	540
This is the department which, in the opinion of the Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda has been stuffed with Christians. The non-caste Brahmin Hindus number 10 and the Brahmins 4, while the Christians number 10. As he remarked, the Christians are a little below the non-Christian caste-Hindus in point of literacy, but literacy only means ability to read a letter and to reply to it. Dr. A. R. Menon. That is not a qualification. Mr. C. A. Ouseph. Literacy is so defined in the <i>Census Report</i>.														
18. Education	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
a. Superior Service	...	...	21	4,895	9	1,395	4	705	...	...	...	...	...	...
b. Subordinate	...	...	107	7,524	46	3,091	13	1,146	...	...	...	...	...	...
19. Medical	...	...	6	374	22	1,605	29	3,237	4	270	...	...	1	65
20. Public Works	...	...	12	1,356	17	1,811	11	943	...	...	...	...	...	...
21. Scientific	...	...	8	497	1	95	2	215	...	...	...	...	...	...
22. Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	2	300	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	234	23,028	189	19,367	57	6,343	12	1,046	1	50	3	605
23. Devaswam	...	...	6	728	3	270	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Sir, if you will be pleased to go through figures in any Civil List, you will find the Muhammadans, Christians and non-caste-Hindus have not exceeded the quota of appointments which they can legitimately claim, and none of the men that have been appointed are without the necessary qualification. Sir, I do not know where the wrong lies. I do not know who is responsible for the recruitment, which, as the Civil List clearly shows, has led to a most inadequate representation of some communities. The Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda found fault with the Hon'ble Member for Medicine for having, as he put it, created an appointment for his son. But did he in fact do so? Is he really responsible for that appointment? There have been similar appointments before and after that. But it would be a most unpleasant business to refer to them all. Sir, our only prayer is that the doors of appointments may be laid open for every qualified person in the State, and a suitable policy may be enunciated as in Mysore, Madras and Travancore. There is no injustice done to any community by that. We don't suggest that anything should be done at the cost of efficiency. Efficiency should be maintained. Passing examinations and tests does, at present count as efficiency. If a member of an inadequately represented community can satisfy the tests laid down, he should be preferred in making an appointment.

PRESIDENT.

Mr. Ouseph, are you for the creation of a Staff Selection Board?

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH.

Yes, if it is composed of the members of this House.

PRESIDENT.

Composed of worthy citizens of the State.

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH.

I don't know whether any officer in Cochin who is responsible for making appointments is not a worthy citizen of the State, and I do not know how the policy pursued by these worthy citizens in the past brought us to the position in which we now find ourselves. So, even though a Staff Selection Board is created, if currents which might have been working in the past to bring us to such a pass continue to exert the same baneful influence, that Board will not serve any purpose.

Mr. A. SANKARA PUDUVAL.

I cannot find my way to support this resolution. In the first place, I consider it superfluous. Secondly, I think that

the resolution implies a stigma upon the administration, which is unwarranted by facts. If really the provisions of the existing Standing Orders have not been followed in any particular instance, the aggrieved officer would have appealed against the order, and the appellate authority would have rectified the mistake. Instances of violent departures from the rule have not been many, and cases where redress has not been given fewer still. The analytical table presented to the House by the mover is misleading. He has picked out certain classes of officers, from some of the various departments, and endeavoured to show the partial treatment meted out to Hindus. I think he should have, in fairness, given a list of all officers in each of the departments and analysed the figures, if he wanted to base any arguments on this basis. He ignores the Judicial and Educational Departments entirely, and even with regard to the Police, the rank and file and the Inspectors are severely left alone. Various considerations must have weighed with the Government in making appointments. Officers employed many years ago may have been mostly Hindus. Other communities were unfortunately backward in education, and qualified men had to be preferred to unqualified applicants. Conditions having changed; members of the other communities came to possess necessary qualifications, and they were engrafted into the service. If the Government wanted to shut non-Hindus out entirely, they would not have given facilities and special concessions for the education of the backward classes. Persons possessed of necessary qualifications have been yearly increasing in number. Officers already in service could not be necked out to make room for members of the backward or depressed classes. As vacancies occur, and in due course of time, these claims would be considered. It is merely a question of time. At no distant date, members of all communities would be holding office under Government, according to their deserts. The principle underlying the resolution is already there in the Standing Orders. Personal attacks on Heads of Departments who happen to be members of this Council, have been freely indulged in, and I consider that these reflections and accusations are entirely out of place. What is there objectionable in appointing a person, who is related to a high placed official, if the candidate be efficient and competent? We have the cry of "Cochin for Cochinites" insistently; and if a deserving Cochinite could not be entertained in service, because a relation of his happens to be already in Government employ, how could the maxim "Cochin for Cochinites" be given effect to? Ours is a small State, measuring 1,400 and odd square miles, of which nearly 600 are

forests. Out of the total population of nine lakhs and odd, persons with necessary qualifications to be appointed to the various Government posts are indeed few. You cannot help appointing persons, closely and distantly related. We can only insist on fair and impartial selection. It is not feasible for any Government to distribute the loaves and fishes of office either on the basis of Sirkar tax paid by any class of people or on the basis of communal representation. There are about a lakh of members among the backward and depressed classes, mostly illiterate, and generally devoid of suitable educational qualifications. To say that a tenth of Government appointments should be reserved for them is meaningless. On the other hand, to insist that Pattadars should have a lien on Government posts in proportion to the amount of tax paid would be still more absurd. Efficiency, educational qualifications, and character could alone count in the matter of appointments. Past service, expert qualifications and character could only be workable tests in giving promotions. It is no use saying, "this community is not adequately represented", or "that community has been ignored". Let us try to give equal chances to efficient men without distinction of class or creed; let us give all facilities to the backward and depressed classes to come up. Let the services be manned by Cochinites, as far as practicable. Communal representation in State service is neither a workable ideal, nor a desirable principle, to ensure good administration. I am also inclined to think that this resolution is a sorry attempt to divide the Council into communal parties, and such attempts I strongly deprecate. In these circumstances, I emphatically protest against the resolution being accepted by the Council.

Mr. M. KRISHNA MENON.

Sir, I rise to oppose this resolution. When this resolution was moved, on hearing the pious wishes of the mover, I thought for a moment that he is advocating the cause of the backward and depressed classes. With the speech of the Hon'ble Member for Chalakkudi, the cat is out of the bag. It became an advocacy for the Christian friends to get into the Government service and that alone. Now, if we go a few years back, this Council will be in a position to understand that almost every Head of the Department except the Diwan Peishkar was a Christian; the Comptroller was a Christian, the Director of Education was a Christian, the Chief Medical Officer was a Christian, the Chief Engineer was a Christian, and the Police Commissioner was a Christian, and the Excise Superintendent was a Christian,

Unfortunately, they became 55 years old. What could the Government do? They tried extension in some cases.

PRESIDENT.

Was the Excise Superintendent a Christian?

Mr. M. KRISHNA MENON.

Yes, Sir, a few years ago.

PRESIDENT.

What about the Registrar of Co-operative Societies?

Mr. M. KRISHNA MENON.

He was brought from Madras. Then there is the Anchal Superintendent and the Registration Superintendent. One Christian retired and another Christian got in. Now, you will see that almost all the Heads of Departments were Christians. Among all these, where are the Nayers and the Brahmins to go? Another question is when one Christian was appointed Judge of the Chief Court, why did not the Government appoint another Christian who was in service, as if there is no meaning in it? One of the Judges of the Chief Court is a Christian. Still the cry comes in. The learned mover said that, had it not been for their loyalty to His Highness, there would have been very serious consequences. As a peaceful citizen, I wish to know what are the serious consequences, so that I may prepare myself, because, unfortunately, I cannot leave the State. (*Laughter.*)

PRESIDENT.

Mr. Mathew said so in his concluding speech. Is it not so?

Mr. M. KRISHNA MENON.

Yes, Sir. I never tried for a Government appointment. Now, I ask the question. Who are the qualified men amongst Christians, who have been refused appointment in the Government service? Why not fight the battle outside the Government? Tell me a Christian who has become the leader of a bar. In the Madras High Court who has become the leaders of the bar? Ayyars and Ayyangars. Why do you blame the Brahmins? They have got intelligence and brain; they will work hard. Then there was the non-Brahmin movement. What became of it? If the Brahmin works hard, he becomes the leader. You find Ayyars and Ayyangars as leaders of the bar of the Madras High Court. Take any District Court. You will find a Krishnaswami Ayyar and a Ramaswami Ayyangar as the leaders. The Christian is no where. The Brahmin is gifted with hereditary intelligence. Give the palm to the Brahmin. Government wants the best men. If the Government employs the Brahmin, why blame the Government, for the Government wants the best

work to be done? Simply because I am a Christian, I must get it. That is not a test. The Government appointment is not intended for different communities. So many calculations have been made by the Hon'ble Member for Chalakkudi. Let me understand who is the Christian that was refused appointment when there was a suitable vacancy in the Government, and a suitable candidate came forward?

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH.

The archives of the Government will show that.

Mr. M. KRISHNA MENON.

If you are in a position to give the facts, please inform me; otherwise keep quiet. That is the best thing. It is nothing but ignorance.

Now, with regard to appointments, I say, when all these persons were Christians, and by age-bar they had to go away, where was the next Christian to take their place, I ask? There was the Comptroller. Who is the man whom my learned friend would suggest to put in that place?

PRESIDENT.

Government should get another qualified Christian from outside.

Mr. M. KRISHNA MENON.

When we had a man who got himself trained in England on his own expense in the Government service? Is the Government going to send another man to England to get himself trained?

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

Why go in for *Bilathi samans*?

Mr. M. KRISHNA MENON.

Sometimes we go in for *Bilathi samans*. For a Second Grade College *Bilathi samans* is necessary. So there is no use of saying *Bilathi saman*, and I respectfully bring before the House that this resolution is intended to create a split between the different communities of the State, which I strongly protest against. If they have any grievance, why cannot they fight the battle outside the Government? I am prepared to fight it out. It is only those people who are incompetent, and who could not get on otherwise will go and knock at the doors of the Government, and ask them; "Please give me a post on Rs. 15". After passing their B. A. and B. L., they go and knock at the door of the Government for a post on Rs. 15. Come to the bar and fight it out. Why should these Vakils go and take the post of Registrars,

after studying all these things? What do these Registrars do except writing on the back of the document. “ചത്തുക്കുളം” ഹാജമാക്കി വതിക്കൊന്നു മണിക്കൂർ സമ്മതിച്ചു” (*Loud laughter*). After studying all these Acts, i. e., the Constitutional Law, the Contract Act, Negotiable Instruments Act, from morning till evening, what do they do? They accept a post on Rs. 60, and what is their work?

From this we can clearly see that they are incompetent for anything else. Go to the public and get yourself certified as competent. Then you can come up. You can make more money. The Diwan Peishkar is only a B. A. There are many Christian B. A.s. and B. L.s., Why not appoint one of them for the post? But the Christian B. A. and B. L. wants only Rs. 40. A Vakil in the Munsiff's Court will get Rs. 40 by a single commission. All these clearly show that they are incompetent men and are creating all these hubbubs because these Christian B. A. and B. L.s. are not able to earn Rs. 40 outside Government service.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

Under S.O. 26 I propose that the House may pass on to the next item of business.

Mr. N. PADMANABHA MENON.

Sir, I beg to second it.

The President put the adjournment motion to votes, and it was carried by a large majority.

Time Scale in the Police Department.

PRESIDENT.

The next resolution is Mr. Salem's. You may move it.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

Sir, I beg to move that “*this Council recommends to the Government to reorganise the superior staff of the Police force and place the Station House in charge of the Inspectors on a time scale and salary and abolish Sub-Inspectorships.*”

Sir, I have brought this motion before this House, because I believe from what I know that there is an amount of discontent amidst the superior staff of the Police. The Government have shelved the question here, and have repeatedly stated that they are not aware of any discontent amidst the superior staff of the Police force. But, Sir, my information is first hand, and I believe that there is an amount of discontent. I have had occasion to speak to as many as 9 Sub-Inspectors, and every one was grumbling at his lot. I, therefore, thought it would be doing a good service to the country at large, if the custodians of peace in the country are put on a basis of satisfaction. Sir, in Travancore every Station House is in charge of an Inspector,

PRESIDENT.

And in British India?